DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 050 222 UD 011 528

AUTHOR	Ralston, Carolyn; Lewis, Ann
TITLE	Special Field Reports on School Desegregation Projects: Hartford, Forrest City, Bernalillo, Dade County.
INSTITUTION	Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y. National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity.
SPONS AGENCY	Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	May 71
NOTE	34p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	American Indians, Faculty Integration, *Federal Programs, *Integration Methods, Mexican Americans, Negro Students, *Race Relations, *Racial Attitudes, *School Integration

ABSTRACT

These reports of the National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity analyze four school districts differing demographically, geographically, and in terms of local history in order to gather information on the ongoing desegregation projects in these areas. Field trips were made to Hartford, Connecticut, Dade County, Florida, Bernalillo, New Mexico, and Forrest City, Arkansas. The experimental program in Hartford involved busing 200 elementary out of the city to suburban school systems. In Dade County, a human relations program was set up, in which faculty desegregation was emphasized. The Bernalillo schools instituted an inservice program to increase cultural awareness for teachers--there being large numbers of Indians and Mexican Americans in New Mexico. After the Forrest City public schools desegregated, workshops for teachers, administrators, supervisors, and counselors were created. (Authors/JW)

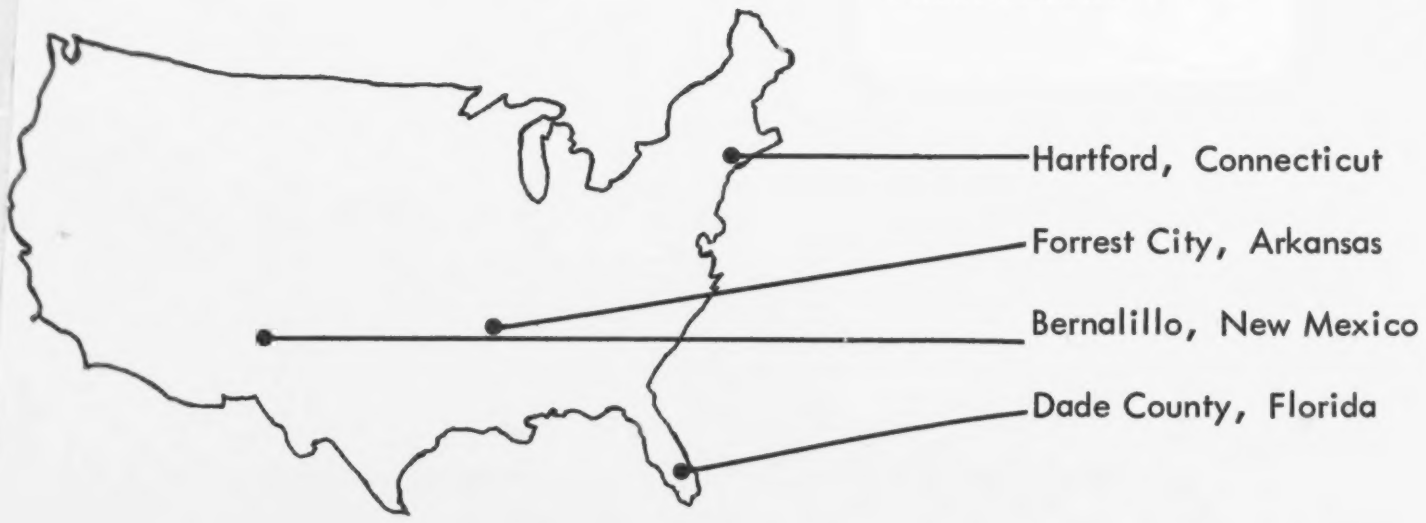
SPECIAL FIELD REPORTS ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION PROJECTS:

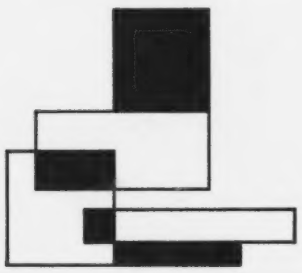
Hartford, Forrest City, Bernalillo, Dade County.

MAY 1971

ED050222

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY





by

CAROLYN RALSTON

and

ANNE LEWIS

UD011528

The National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity
Box 40, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027

Edmund W. Gordon, Ed.D., Director — Wendell J. Roye, M.S., Assistant Director

NCRIEEO was asked by the Division of Equal Educational Opportunity to study four widely separated school districts, differing greatly demographically, geographically, and in terms of local history, in order to gather information on and describe the ongoing desegregation projects in those districts. These are the detailed reports of the field visits. Carolyn Ralston and Anne Lewis are NCRIEEO research and editorial assistants.

The National Center for Research and Information on Equal Educational Opportunity is supported through a contract with the United States Office of Education, Division of Equal Educational Opportunity, Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their judgement in professional and technical matters. Points of view or opinions do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

ED050222

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

The north end of Hartford is its "ghetto" area. Though lower income housing projects are beginning to go up in other parts of the city, it is in the north end that over 25% of the families are on welfare, that over 75% of the families have more than four children and where less than 6% own their own homes. In physical appearance the north end is not as run-down as are many ghettoes in more densely populated cities--the large, old frame houses are mingled with new prefabricated small apartment houses and most families have access to a patch of grass on which their children can play. Many of the schools in the area are new and have ample playground space. But inside both the schools and the houses, these Hartford families share the physical conditions of all ghetto residents. In the homes families of eight live in three or four rooms, rats and roaches are never eliminated, the hallways are dark and smelly. In the schools as the children pass from grade to grade they tend to slip further behind in reading levels, and the school staff, mostly white middle class, finds it increasingly difficult to deal with "these children."

The north end is a distinct geographic entity, bordered by expressways, a river and a large park. Hartford has a population of about 160,000 of which 20,000 live in the north end. Of the total elementary school population of 22,400, approximately 8,500 live in the north end. The residential patterns of the city itself, as well as its suburbs, are quite distinctly divided along ethnic and class lines. In the south end less than 15% of the residents are black or Spanish and of these 15%, almost all are middle class. In the suburbs, a different ethnic group tends to predominate in each town although there is a great deal of overlap among these white ethnic groups.

As in most Northern cities, there has been a rapid movement away from the city itself to the suburbs in recent years. The total population of Hartford has decreased by about 20,000 in the last six years while the total school population has increased by about 7,000. From 1960 to 1966 the percentage of the school population which is non-white doubled to become 56% in 1966. Most of Hartford's new residents are black and Puerto Rican families with many children whereas those moving out have tended to be middle-class and upper-middle-class families with two or three children. Within the north end itself there is a great deal of movement as families search for, and sometimes find, what they hope will be nicer places to live. It is not unusual for an elementary school class to have a 50% turnover between September and June or for a school that was predominantly black five years earlier to be predominantly Puerto Rican today.

Hartford's schools continued under a pattern of de facto segregation until 1963 when an open enrollment program was initiated in the city school system. This program was not sufficiently publicized among the parents who might wish to transfer their children, leaving the burden of the responsibility for learning the details of the program and for arranging transfers to these parents who seldom enjoyed open communications with the school system. In addition, transportation was not provided. These two factors created

a situation in which the program essentially never got beyond the paper planning stage and de facto segregation continued.

As the percentage of non-whites in the school population increased, a policy of forced integration within the city seemed less and less likely as it would speed the flight of the white middle class from the city. In addition, a program of school construction was desperately needed in Hartford in the middle '60's. As so often happens, there was a lack of agreement on where the focus should be in taking steps to improve the education of children in the Hartford schools. As a result of this lack of consensus, in 1965 the Hartford Board of Education and the Court of Common Council of the City of Hartford, with the support of the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, asked the Harvard Graduate School of Education to come and study the educational situation in Hartford and to recommend a general plan for future development. Among the recommendations in this Harvard Report was one suggesting that the city of Hartford could no longer provide a quality education to all its youth without some degree of metropolitan cooperation. Following this line of reasoning the report suggested that two non-white Hartford youngsters be placed in each suburban classroom in the greater Hartford area. The reaction to these suggestions at that time among suburbanites was definitely negative.

Shortly after this report was released a continuing seminar, sponsored by the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce and by an insurance company, was instituted including business, industrial, civic and political leaders of the metropolitan area. As education was one of the problems being discussed, the Harvard Report was mentioned and the above-mentioned suggestions were reacted to less negatively, though there was still suspicion on the part of many of these leaders. The Connecticut State Department of Education decided to sponsor a proposal for a program of urban-suburban cooperation. The Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce endorsed the proposal and the Hartford Board of Education offered its full cooperation with suburban communities in implementing the program.

The experimental program proposed would place 200 Hartford youngsters in grades kindergarten through fifth grade in four suburban school systems. All children were to be placed on a vacant-seat basis and no more than three children were to be placed together in any one class. In selecting the towns to approach for participation in the programs much emphasis was placed on supposed receptivity to the concept. The Board of Education in each suburban community received a letter asking them to participate from the Connecticut State Department of Education and it was up to each individual board to decide.

Although the political maneuverings and sentiments among the residents of each of the four communities may have varied a bit in tone and intensity, the scenario was essentially the same. The public meeting held by the Board of Education drew a large crowd with many vociferously negative voices outstanding. The objections raised were predictable and ranged all the way from "why can't they work their way up and move out of the city?" to fear of a loss of quality education to expressed concern for the "traumatic" effects on the Hartford children of the daily contrast between suburban affluence and city poverty. In addition to the practical considerations of whether or not each school system had the space for the children, the Board members had to try to gauge what the local sentiment really was.

Three of the four boards voted yes; the fourth declined to participate on a tied vote. By this time two other towns had expressed interest in the program; after receiving letters, these towns also agreed to participate. In September, 1966, 266 Hartford children began their daily bus ride to suburban schools under the project which was now titled Project Concern.

West Hartford, the first community to agree to receive children and the community which took the most children, established clear-cut conditions for the program. One of these conditions was that Project Concern be implemented with a carefully drawn up experimental design and that this design include evaluation of its effectiveness after two years. A four-treatment model was worked out for this two-year experiment. Half of the youngsters bussed to West Hartford would be accompanied by one professional teacher from the north end schools and one paraprofessional aide for each 25 children while the other half received no such "supportive team." Among the control group of children in the Hartford schools, one-half received similar supportive assistance while the other half received no such assistance.

The sheer logistical problems presented by the plan still made many people question the plan's feasibility. In summer 1966, funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity were received to bus some Hartford youngsters to the West Hartford summer school. The report which evaluated this program indicated that there were no major educational or operational problems encountered.

An important aspect of Project Concern was the random selection from among the children who met the following minimum criteria:

1. Entering grades K-5 in September 1966
2. Enrolled in a public school in the north end of Hartford which has a non-white population of at least 85%
3. Recorded I.Q. above 80

By using the process of selecting intact classes in the eight eligible schools by a table of random numbers, the city was able to free one teacher with each class to be used as part of the supportive team. The control group was selected with the randomness now restricted to the extent that controls at a given grade level must be drawn from the same school or schools as the experimentals. When only 12 of the 266 families contacted indicated that they did not want their children to participate in Project Concern the possibility of parental refusals contaminating the randomness of the experimental sample was eliminated.

Although everyone concerned agreed that the idea of a supportive team was a good one, a great deal of flexibility was built into this aspect of the program, enabling each of the five communities to define the role of the supportive teacher and of the aide in varied fashion. Certain commonalities of function appeared, stressing remedial assistance for those Hartford youngsters that needed it, close liaison with special services such as social work and psychology, the provision of new resource materials for teachers with socially disadvantaged children, and close contact with the home. This final task was one of the primary responsibilities of the aides. They made

certain that the parents of "their" 25 children knew when changes were made in scheduling, when a child stayed late for an extracurricular activity and also assisted the school in contacting parents for PTA meetings and conferences. As this role has evolved, they continue to occasionally play the role of advocate and, when necessary, to encourage parents to do the same.

The Project Concern administrative staff realized the importance of maintaining close contact with members of the north end community and wisely established its office in the North Hartford Community Center in that neighborhood. In asking parents for permission to have their child participate in the project, a member of the staff visited each family concerned. This practice has continued, and this, along with the liaison work of the aides, all of whom are black or Puerto Rican -- the great majority being north end residents, has maintained a generally open line of communications between those directly concerned with this project in the city.

An entire battery of measures including the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, measure of school achievement, a sociometric study, an anxiety measure, attendance figures, etc. was given these children during Project Concern's two-year experimental period. As is usual in a complex, multifaceted situation of this kind, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions from these test results. However, in analyzing the differences of mean change scores on the measures of I.Q., Primary Mental Ability and school environment, it appears that in the lower grades the differences consistently favor the bussed groups over the controls with supportive assistance not accounting for any significant difference. The addition of supportive assistance in the urban school had no measurable effect. At the upper two grade levels (Grades 4 and 5) the suburban intervention did not appear effective.

Although this would seem to indicate that supportive assistance in the suburban schools makes little difference, there were several contributing factors operating there. In those suburban schools which received no additional personnel, the staff, particularly the guidance counselor and the principal, did provide supportive assistance. The majority of these people wanted the program to succeed in their schools so it was natural that they furnish assistance when it was necessary and that they try to anticipate the problems which might occur and adjust the situation to minimize their occurrence. In addition, the children attending the non-supportive schools had daily contact on the buses with the aides. The aides, of course, did not extend a sympathetic ear or arm only to those children in the supportive schools.

At the completion of this two-year experimental period the Project Concern staff and the suburban school staffs agreed that all schools should have supportive assistance and that the aides particularly were an essential element in the program. As the program moved from its initial two-year experimental phase it was agreed to maintain the aides, with some experimentation in increasing the ratio of children to aides. As for the supportive teachers, the suburban schools were urged to take on the costs involved, and the process of transferring the burden of this portion of the funding began.

As of the 1970-71 school year, 14 of the 16 communities involved are paying for these additional teachers. In a few schools the ratio of supportive

teachers to Project Concern children has been decreased with no sacrifice in the quality of service provided the children. This is viewed as further indication that the suburban schools and the Project Concern children are working well together.

In 1968 administration of the program, which had been operated by an independent agency within the Connecticut State Department of Education, was transferred to the Hartford Board of Education. The office was maintained in the north end with reductions, but little turnover, in staff. Dr. Thomas Mahan, who had been the director during the experimental phase and who had designed and written up the research, returned to his teaching duties at the University of Hartford. Bill Paradis, who previously served as liaison coordinator for the Hartford Board of Education, is currently the supervisor. As is often the case with experimental programs, once the beginning brouhaha has subsided, it is difficult to secure funding to maintain a staff large enough to continue the liaison work necessary and to devise and implement improvements in the program. The Project Concern office staff of six is smaller now when there are 1,549 children in the program than it was when there were 266 in 1966. Conscious of this shrinkage, the office staff seems determined nonetheless to maintain the quality of the program and has been able to make improvements as the program continues.

In 1967 some Project Concern children were bussed to suburban parochial schools that had indicated a desire to have Project Concern children. These children were not selected randomly; instead, families could volunteer their children for the program and if the children passed the school's exam, they were admitted. When suburban private and city parochial schools were added to the program in 1968, the same selection procedure was used. Of the 101 schools in Project Concern in 1970-71, the numerical breakdown is:

Suburban private	3
Suburban parochial	8
Suburban public	83
City parochial	1
City public	6

The city schools are located in the south end. (It may be important for anyone implementing a similar program to note that it wasn't until children had been bussed to the suburbs for two years that the project was initiated in the more affluent sections of the city of Hartford.)

Project Concern enters into a contract with each community, which allows the community flexibility in deciding on issues such as funding of supportive teachers, need for social workers, etc. The basic operational requirements continue to be:

1. The City of Hartford pays a tuition equal to the average per-pupil cost in the suburban school system for each child;
2. Decisions about placement in programs for Hartford youngsters is the responsibility of the suburban school administrators; and
3. Transportation and administration of the program is the responsibility of the City of Hartford.

The per-pupil costs for this program average about $1,500.

During the two-year experimental phase funding was received as follows:

	1966-67	1967-68
Title IV, Civil Rights Act	$122,700.	$ 79,000.
Title I, ESEA	165,000.	165,000.
Title III, ESEA	90,000.	122,000.
City of Hartford	70,000.	70,000.
Ford Foundation		50,000.

The Title I funds were transferred from the regular Hartford allocation.

As the program moved from an experimental to a fully operational phase, the pattern of funding changed. Since 1968 the State has provided approximately 35% of the funds under Public Act 611 passed by the Connecticut General Assembly. Title I, ESEA provides another 60% and the City of Hartford provides the remaining funds.

The staff thought it crucial that, as the project expanded numerically, it also expand the quality and maintain and improve communication between the various groups involved. One innovation along these lines has been workshops for the teachers in the suburban schools. The range of needs to be met in these workshops is extensive. Attending one such workshop, and listening to the questions the teachers asked the black social worker and the black educator from the inner city, one feels the concern of the teachers for the children, accompanied often by frustration at an inability to deal with perceived "differentness." Occasionally a teacher would begin to understand that the "difference" might be in her own perception. Obviously workshops like this, whether they provide facts or increased sensitivity, do assist the teachers and serve the Project's goal of having the Hartford children treated as "nothing special" while being treated as individuals in the classroom setting.

At the same time educational workshops are being held for the 60 supportive teachers and the 70 aides. Here new techniques and curricula are introduced and discussed. A program providing financial support for aides to attend college courses has been instituted and some of the aides are on their way to becoming certified teachers.

Hartford has instituted a Follow Through Program in connection with its Head Start Program and this program, which involves 4,200 children, relies heavily on the use of paraprofessional aides, and was able to profit from Project Concern's pattern of selecting and utilizing such aides. There are a number of other programs known by their acronyms in Hartford falling under the compensatory education rubric, and the Project Concern people have tried to cooperate with and maintain communication with these programs. If Project Concern had developed an exclusivity vis-a-vis these inner city programs, the road could have been bumpy, but the inter-program cooperation and communication which appears to exist in Hartford is something one wishes were more common in other cities.

Objection to Project Concern did not end with the successful (from an educational point of view) completion of the experimental phase. The

Connecticut statutes placed the decision-making responsibility with the local Board of Education. If popular plebiscites had been held, most observers agree that the proposal would not have gone through. Non-binding "advisory referendums" were held in two towns in 1968. Less than 40% of the eligible voters participated; in one community 60% of those voting opposed joining the project while in the other 51% opposed continuing the project. Because of the small percentage voting and because of the heavy turnout of voters in districts with no Project Concern children in the latter community, these figures are misleading. In both cases the community maintained its involvement with Project Concern. As is often the case with local civic issues, political pressure is now exerted by only a few and town meetings where Project Concern is on the agenda now draw about 25 to 50 people where 2,000 were attending in 1966. Though the majority of the residents in these 16 communities are probably neutral regarding Project Concern, all communities have an active group of "foster mothers" or "foster parents" who are very concerned that the project continue and grow in their communities. In one community these parents raised funds to pay for three tuitions to their schools. Other such groups are actively working to ensure that the Hartford children will stay through high school.

Another problem which arose, not unexpectedly, was that of opposition to the program from the administrators and teachers in the north end schools. When the test results showed a definite improvement in those children bussed to the suburbs with negligible changes in the control children in the city, even in those city schools with supportive assistance, the school personnel felt that they were being personally attacked as incompetent. There were occasions when unpleasantness occurred in working with the north end school personnel in the random selection of the children. Since, with the exception of those children bussed to private and parochial schools, the process of random selection has been strictly adhered to, there has been no room for accusations implying that Project Concern was taking the "best" children. The current supervisor of the project acknowledges that while relations with north end personnel are sometimes strained, Project Concern's cooperation with other city programs and staff efforts to keep abreast of what is going on have helped to alleviate this situation. The widespread use of aides in the city system, instituted partially as a result of the effectiveness of the Project Concern aides, is a further factor in lessening the feeling that Project Concern children get "all the advantages."

The presence of the aides in the suburban schools, working in the classrooms with teachers and outside with guidance counselors and other personnel, has been beneficial both educationally and affectively for both city and suburban children. In addition, many of the aides have assumed a kind of advocacy role whereby they let the teachers know that the city children are no different than other children and should be treated accordingly. They frown on a teacher handling a north end child either disparagingly or with kid gloves. Through this process some teachers have become more aware of their "hidden prejudices" and, as a result, more able to work with the children in a situation of mutual trust.

Suburban parents have experienced similar situations making them aware of their misconceptions concerning the lifestyles of inner-city residents. When a suburban child invited a Hartford classmate home with him and the Hartford child said "no, mom won't let me," the suburban mother called to learn the reason. The Hartford mother said she didn't allow her child to visit people she didn't know. An accumulating number of similar encounters is causing some suburbanites to question the myths regarding "total family and personal disintegration" among inner-city residents.

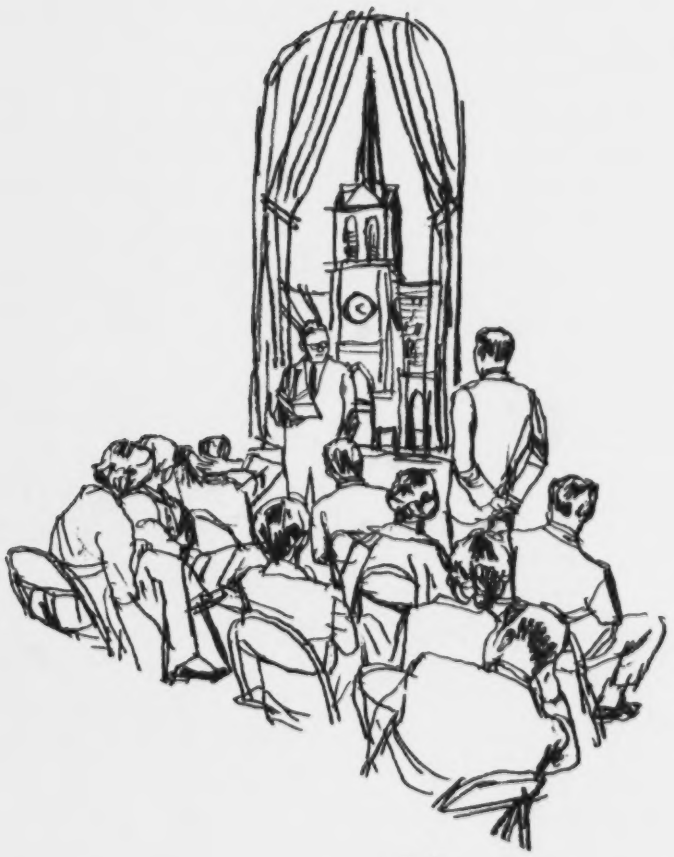
The Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce, an original proponent of the plan, continued to support Project Concern as well as other plans such as Follow Through. The education committee of this group is currently engaged in forming a coalition to work to get a law passed by the Connecticut State Legislature providing more permanent and increased funding for Project Concern and other programs.

With Project Concern in its fifth year of operations, now an established part of the educational system in Hartford, there are still no clear-cut answers to the question "Why has it been effective?" The results of standardized tests administered in the 1968-69 and 1969-70 school year indicate that Project Concern is bringing children close to the reading levels of the overall population, that Project Concern is the most effective for children at the kindergarten and first grade level before reading deficits have occurred, that there is a positive relationship between the number of years in the project and the reduction of reading deficits of the group, and that Project Concern children achieve more in reading than similar children remaining in the validated schools of Hartford. These results, accompanied by the fact that the Project Concern office receives hundreds of calls from parents who want their children in the program and a very low percentage of refusals from the parents of those children selected, indicate that it has general approval.

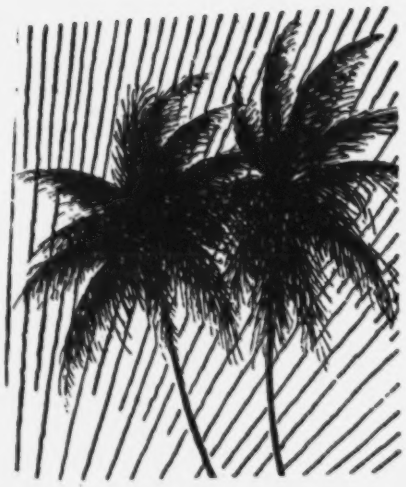
These Hartford parents' enthusiasm about the program has little to do with support for integration. Many of them might prefer, other things being equal, that their children be in the neighborhood schools. Marjorie Little, the woman who presently serves as coordinator of aides, a mother of a child in the project and an aide for several years, put it quite simply, "the parents see that their kids are learning more." An aide in West Hartford noted that the kids are "more motivated." A suburban teacher, speaking for the white students, felt that they were profiting the most in that myths and stereotypes were being replaced by insights into where the differences are. She mentioned supervising a study hall of seventh and ninth graders in which the seventh graders had been with Project Concern children for four years whereas the ninth graders had no such experience. On occasion, a ninth grader would make a not-altogether kind reference to a Project Concern child and the seventh graders never failed to use all available 12-year-old devices to protect and support the "victim."

Project Concern has always been viewed as one experimental alternative in the effort to improve education rather than as the answer to de facto segregation or a panacea for disadvantaged children. This attitude has indirectly led to greater flexibility and willingness to innovate on the part of everyone working with the project. Those children who began the program in the fifth grade in 1966 are in the ninth grade now. Although one might suspect opposition to continuing the program on the high school level, the attitude of "let's try it" prevailed and now many suburban parents are strong

supporters of such continuation. As a sign of inner-city parental support Hartford parents who have children attending private or parochial schools in this program are asked to contribute a portion of the tuition if they can. In addition, the advisory council composed of suburban personnel, board members and citizens, and a parents association has been organized in the city. Independent from the administrative office, this group is not particularly active, a fact that may be partially explained by the general feeling of satisfaction with the project on the part of parents. These are further examples of an underlying philosophy which tries to involve parents, children, community and teachers on as many levels as possible.



DADE COUNTY, FLORIDA



To say that the Dade County School population is a rapidly changing one in terms of ethnic composition, educational background and socioeconomic factors does not distinguish the population from other urban populations in the country. One needs to realize the implications of the sheer geographical size encompassed by the Dade County school system as well as the political, social and demographic background of Miami and its environs in order to begin to understand why Miami's rapid change is uniquely Miamian. Fifty miles long and forty miles wide, Dade County has a land area of 2,054 square miles. Approximately 31% of the county's population lives in the City of Miami, another 31% live in 25 municipalities and another 38% in unincorporated areas. Since even the central city buildings in Dade County have all been constructed relatively recently, extreme contrasts between the physical appearance of Miami and its outlying suburbs are absent. However, parts of the county are extremely segmented on a socioeconomic level and in terms of the three major ethnic groups: black, Cuban and white. This combination of the different kinds of communities and the variety of socioeconomic groups has resulted in a series of small contrasts and consequent adjustments encountered in schools and in almost every conversation with school personnel.

The population of Dade County which was 935,047 in 1960, had increased to 1,267,792 in 1970, comprising about 20% of the population of Florida. A large proportion of this population increase can be attributed to the "Freedom Flights" from Cuba which have been bringing in 180 Cuban refugees daily, Monday-Friday, since about 1965. Approximately 250,000 students attend the public schools in Miami, and they are served by a full-time staff of 13,000. Approximately 20% of this school population is black and another 26% is Cuban.

A large segment of these Cuban and black populations contributes to the high mobility of the Dade County population, which greatly affects the milieu of certain schools within the system. The black population is not centered in one ghetto, but rather lives in several smaller areas scattered throughout all but one district of the city. A small percentage of middle-class blacks has moved to communities outside of the central city and some have moved outside the city. There is a Cuban ghetto of sorts which developed when those Cubans who were recent arrivals settled in the area in South Miami where Spanish was the language of the streets. This trend continues today although a counter-force has been initiated in that some Cuban families who have succeeded in improving their economic status leave this area for other parts of the county.

Because it is a county school system, there is a tendency for staff and students to make no rigid distinctions between schools and districts of the "inner-city," "transitional," "suburban" variety. This is not to say that everyone was not aware, before the court order to desegregate, of the racial composition of the school populations in various school districts. Of the six districts, the racial composition of the pupil population in September, 1969, was:

	Black	Spanish-language	White
Northeast	3%	7%	90%
Northwest	18%	17%	65%
Northcentral	48%	18%	34%
Southcentral	35%	43%	22%
Southwest	10%	15%	75%
South	23%	3%	74%

These figures are those supplied by Dade County and the ethnic breakdown is in accordance with that requested by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Consequently, there are no comparable figures on the proportion of Spanish teachers, but their numbers remain insignifcant. (This low percentage is likely to be steadily increased in the future as more and more Cubans receive their educational licenses.) The 1969 breakdown of black and white classroom teachers by district was:

	Black	White
Northeast	8.9%	91.1%
Northwest	16.1%	83.9%
Northcentral	33 %	67 %
Southcentral	28.1%	71.9%
Southwest	9.9%	90.1%
South	18.5%	81.5%

Dade County is considered by many to be the progressive area of the state and, in line with this image, an initial effort was made at desegregation in 1959. Twenty-five black elementary students were sent to two schools along with 777 whites. The number of desegregated schools increased annually so that by 1967 the 123 desegregated schools (of 213 schools) included 56.8% of the black population. The ratio of black-to-white in these schools varied considerably with some being obvious targets for the accusation "tokenism," while others had percentages which accurately reflected the entire school population.

Although the efforts made were often praiseworthy and, in most cases, were carried through with sufficient preparation and organization to minimize friction, Dade County was not a fully integrated system in 1969 and did not promise to become one in the near future. In July, 1969, a letter and summary report from the Office of Civil Rights at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to the Superintendent of Dade County Public Schools indicated that the school system was not in full compliance with Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1965 and requested a plan for complete elimination of the dual school structure by February 1, 1970.

In December, 1969, the U. S. District Court ordered the Dade County school board to file a final staff desegregation plan by January 13, 1970. This plan was to provide that the staff assigned to schools to work directly with children be assigned so that the ratio of black-to-white be essentially the same as the ratio in the entire school system. These reassignments must be accomplished, stated the Court order, by February 1, 1970. This date fell only one week after the scheduled hearings on objections and alternatives to the Board's plan.

The short space of time between the Court order and the deadline date for faculty desegregation led, as one might imagine, to a great deal of discontent on the part of school personnel and students, both black and white. Many teachers did not want to leave their "home" schools, even in cases where the school population was labeled "hard-to-handle," and students, particularly in junior and senior high schools, often felt, in addition to a personal loss with favorite staff members, that their teachers were being unfairly treated.

In November the Board had received recommendations for consideration regarding staff desegregation from the Florida School Desegregation Consulting Center at the University of Miami. The issuance of the Court order and the deadline date left no time for such consideration and the recommendations were accepted as stated. At this point the Board considered itself fortunate to have had the recommendations available to act on immediately.

Students were dismissed for four extra days in early February as the 2,000 reassigned teachers completed records at their old schools, met those teachers they would replace, and began to plan for their new assignments. The approximate ratio of black-to-white teachers in all schools in Dade County became:

	Black	White
Elementary	24%	76%
Junior high	21%	79%
Senior high	12.2%	87.8%

At least one black staff member is assigned counseling duties in each junior and senior high school. The proportion of black administrators was so low that the recommendation here involved ensuring that no elementary school has more than one black administrator while no junior or senior high school was to have more than two.

Further student desegregation, in compliance with the directive from HEW, took place in September, 1970. This action included paired schools with its attendant bussing, the opening of new schools and boundary line changes. There are still some schools with all black students in 1970-71, but these are to be phased out in a few years. In many situations the changes were quite dramatic, for example, the entire seventh grade from a formerly "white" school was bussed to a "black" school, while the eighth and ninth grades were bussed in the reverse direction. As the complete elimination of the dual school system has not yet taken place, it is too early to make other than conjectural comments on student desegregation; however, the lack of extended boycotts and the lack of constant harrass-

ments and endemic threats of violence does appear to indicate that the process has begun in a comparatively smooth manner.

The facility with which faculty desegregation takes place is closely related to the student desegregation process as many are coming increasingly, and rather tardily, to realize. Dade County appears to have been ahead of the game here as it has long emphasized human relations training for staff members, including busdrivers and custodians. Human relations workshops and seminars began in earnest in 1966, inservice classes were offered, and community relations emphasized. These efforts were all designed, in one way or another, to improve working relationships and understandings between individuals and groups. Human relations as a relevant component of the educational effort seems to be accepted and welcomed by the majority of staff members in Dade County and by those students who have been involved in any human relations activities. It was partly the result of the positive feedback achieved with these early human relations efforts which led the Dade County school system to apply for a Title IV grant for a human relations task force for February-July, 1970 and to renew the proposal for the school year 1970-71.

As stated in the original proposal, the task force would consist of a project manager and ten human relations specialists who would serve "as a resource in the county" and "continually provide the necessary staff development activities in human relations efforts directly related to desegregation for teachers in all schools in Dade County." Their main functions would be training, counseling, consultant and resource support and liaison support. Liaison support included the coordination of activities with community organization such as the Urban League, the Anti-Defamation League, Metropolitan Dade County Community Relations Board and the Cuban Refugee Center as well as work with law enforcement agencies and school security personnel in devising guides for preventing or dealing with interracial conflict.

As with most programs of this type, the proposal alone scarcely gives one a grasp of how and what actually takes place. Since the term of this original proposal began at the time 2,000 staff members were reassigned, there was obviously no shortage of difficulties which would warrant the services of the task force members. As might be expected, some of the schools with the largest number of transfers found themselves most in need of advice and help in resolving difficulties, though this was not the case with all such schools. Although the members of the human relations team did spend some time in training and planning together during this February through May semester, the majority of their time was spent working out of different district offices where requests were received from schools, parent or community groups. As a result of the deadline date in the Court order, there was a great deal of demand for the services of the team right from the beginning, some of these requests resulting in one consultation session while others resulted in a series of workshops. Time pressures were extreme during this period.

The ten members of the team, along with the project manager, did spend some time designing various approaches for the different kinds of issues that might arise between teachers, between administrators and the community, between teachers and students, between students, etc. This very realistic planning/training session got the team off to an excellent start and a large

part of their success during this period was due to their tendency to face a situation realistically and practically, without encouraging others to expect, or expecting themselves, that the road would be smooth.

But it was not primarily this week of planning which led to the demand for a continuation of the task force. Rather, it could be termed a combination of staff members needs, expressed or unexpressed, being served by a human relations team perceived for the most part as non-threatening and of the professional and personal qualifications of the members of the human relations team. The job requirements as stated in the proposal were, in addition to the requirement that the team be a reflection of Miami's various ethnic groups: 1) minimum of 3 years successful teaching and/or professionally related experiences, 2) experience in an integrated school setting, 3) experience in human relations training, and 4) willingness to participate in further training programs in human relations.

In the actual hiring process, (2) was expanded to include successful experience in an integrated school in communicating with cross-ethnic groups. If one were to attempt to pinpoint what qualities make these people successful in this job, this particular ability to communicate plus several years experience in the Dade County schools would, no doubt, be at the top of the list. Although all had experience in the system, few had had formal training in human relations. In retrospect it can be said that those responsible for the hiring of this initial team used a great deal of perception in stressing personal qualities and school experience rather than formal training. It is doubtful that, in a situation such as this where all teachers and administrators tend to be suspicious of outsiders, any amount of formal training would have substituted for proven ability to take an active yet not offensive role in resolving problems.

It was planned that the ten human relations specialists would be coordinating many of their efforts with the twenty-four curriculum support teachers who, funded by the county, were operating in the schools most affected by staff desegregation to give support to teachers encountering instructional problems. As it turned out, those working in the two programs found that, for the most part, it was less efficient to coordinate their efforts as they were essentially working in two separate spheres--the curriculum support teachers on an instructional, content level and the human relations specialists on problem-analyzing and solving.

As this period evolved, the direction of the human relations team's efforts became increasingly well-defined. Due to the success experienced in those schools where administrators and faculty were aware of their problems and secure enough to ask for direct support, they realized that only where people are aware of the significance of their problems and the resultant effect on the children does progress become easier. Consequently, the staff emphasized aiding the school personnel in locating and defining their problems and needs themselves. One logical consequence of successful programs of this sort is that, once school personnel reach a certain level of awareness, they can then serve as human relations people within their schools. This "multiplier effect" had been an original goal of the team for another reason, the very practical one that ten people could not adequately serve six districts and 222 schools.

As of January, 1971, three of the six districts have added at least one full-time human relations specialist to their staffs. Two of these three had previously been on the county human relations team which serves as a further example that the individuals hired for these positions were able to relate effectively to the administrators and faculty on the job. Since involved personnel at the school, district, and county level were agreed that supportive efforts to facilitate desegregation and alleviate and resolve racial conflicts would become more important as student desegregation accelerated, a proposal was made for Title IV funds to continue the program for the period August, 1970 - July, 1971.

This proposal, while still not reflecting the dynamics of the program, is a fuller, more lively document, since it is based on the six-month experiences of the team members, the problems incurred in the faculty desegregation process, and the impending student desegregation. The focus, as stated in this proposal, was to change from working primarily with staff problems to developing programs which concentrate on student involvement. The need for efforts in this area was emphasized by racial outbreaks that occurred in four Dade County secondary schools in spring, 1970. The following general objectives were listed:

1. Establish a favorable climate with faculty and administration for acceptance of student desegregation;
2. Aid administrators to recognize their role and impact in dealing with student-student and student-teacher problems;
3. Establish procedures for pairing students in a receiving school with students from a sending school to develop rapport;
4. Provide workshops involving students, teachers, administrators, and the community;
5. Disseminate information that might prove valuable to the desegregation effort to community, district and school personnel.

Administration of the program was moved to the Staff Development department. This department recommended, and the team members enthusiastically agreed, that the human relations specialists would be more effective if they did truly function as a team. To this end, one day of the week is set aside for the team to work together in planning and analyzing programs and in sharing new ideas and insights. Two days of each month are set aside for training with Mr. Max Birnbaum. This shared training and scheduled work together appears to have established an excellent framework for a team which functions effectively both as individuals and as team members.

The team was comprised, in January, 1971, of five women and three men, two of the specialists having recently left the team for district positions. Three of the women and one of the men are black, one of the men is Spanish and the other Jewish. (Tentative plans are to fill the vacant positions with a Cuban of either sex and a black man.) Sitting in on their sessions on the day they are all in the main office is impressive in that they really do communicate and "level" with one another and in that they all seem equally committed to what they are attempting to do while, at the same time, they do not set unreasonable success goals. Although many responsibilities are shared, each team member does have responsibilities in certain areas. For example, one woman's responsibilities include youth organizations, parent-teacher associations, dissemination and program planning, while one man's

responsibilities are behavior modification, community organizations and federal programs.

Since it would be impossible to list, let alone do justice to, the diversity of the activities these 10 people initiate, coordinate, or participate in in a single week, perhaps a more detailed description of three or four such activities will etch the proper outline.

1) The fifth session of an eight-session behavior modification workshop conducted by three team members, a black woman, a white woman, and a black man. Forty of the fifty-seven possible staff members attended the four-hour evening session for which they are paid and receive credit. It is held at a school where the student population is all black though the staff is desegregated. About two-thirds of the workshop participants, which includes aides and administrators as well as teachers, are black. None of the white participants are completely segregated by table, though two tables of black participants are. Observation techniques which the participants had been assigned to experiment with were discussed and a short written test was given on material from the book *Teaching/Discipline* by Madsen and Madsen. As the test, with some of its thought-provoking situations regarding teacher and student behavior, was discussed (it served as a work sheet more than as a test), all the participants appeared to be actively confronting the problem at hand. The same was true when, after the 20-minute break, they were asked to list positive and negative reinforcers. A video-tape film was shown of the effect on children of a classroom teacher's switch from positive to negative reinforcement. After an extended discussion of this film, again with the interest level high, a chart entitled, "Ecology and Reinforcement - Potential Spheres of Behavioral Influence" was distributed and suggested as food for thought. A race relations video-tape, made in a classroom, will be shown and discussed in a subsequent session. The three team members knew many of the participants by name, were always approachable and non-dogmatic, and frequently cited practical classroom examples in discussion. In informal discussion after the session, one of the participants mentioned that he couldn't decide if any of the three was a "leader." As anyone who has worked with groups of this kind knows, it is usually not difficult to pick out the leader so that this fellow's inability to do so would indicate that these three have succeeded in their goal of conducting the workshop as a team. One of the administrators in this area mentioned that his staff has been requesting more human relations support which can be assumed to be positive feedback on these workshops. When forty teachers' active interest is maintained for a four-hour period on a week night, something meaningful for them must be occurring.

2) A PTA member had requested that a team member come out to her junior high school to talk to a group about the situation there. The school is 10% black and, though no incidents have occurred yet, the principal, members of the staff and several concerned parents believe that a potentially explosive situation exists. In this district all schools have student human relations committees, but the committee in this school is rather passive, and does not include the militants. This meeting included the principal (white), the assistant principal for guidance (black), the PTA member (white) and the human relations specialist (black). The assistant principal noted that in the grievance skits the journalism teacher assigned for possible presentation in a human relations assembly, many of the grievances were deep-

seated, frequently involving teachers. The human relations specialist suggested that the membership of the student human relations committee be expanded to include more factions as a beginning step. It was agreed that, once this was accomplished, members of the human relations team and a human relations person from the district would meet with the expanded committee to discuss grievances and begin to probe into ways to deal with them. The human relations specialist mentioned one-day retreats she had conducted with high school human relations committees and leaders, noting that they had been fairly effective in getting the students to begin to consider methods to deal with their problems. The principal was quite enthusiastic about this and it was left open as a possibility to explore.

3) An assistant principal (black) at a junior high school participated in a behavior modification workshop for teachers last summer and wants to conduct a similar one for her staff. Two members of the team (both black) were called in to help her plan it. As the team members had been trainers in the summer workshop and knew the woman, they were able to get right into the details of how, when, where, and who.

4) A junior high school where the seventh grade was bussed away to a "black" school while black students were bussed in to attend the eighth and ninth grades. There were no apparent problems when the faculty desegregated in this school, but this past fall staff and students alike were obviously dissatisfied. Two members of the team met with administrators and faculty at the school at least weekly for two months in the fall. They concentrated on identifying faculty concerns and student concerns, on problem-solving with teachers and on faculty involvement in decision-making. As the faculty situation began to stabilize, the team turned to the lack of student cohesiveness and began to work with students in identifying concerns. Four student discussion groups began to meet weekly in December. A school guidance counselor and a member of the human relations team, usually ethnically balanced, are present at these sessions. This is an example of the team's efforts to initiate tandem counseling as well as group counseling. Students in the group represent a cross section of the school's population and include leaders, both under- and over-ground.

5) Staff Development contracted with eight graduate students who form the Teacher Corps at the University of Massachusetts to spend the period January-May working in Dade County in cooperation with the human relations team. The group is conducting four 4-week workshops for teachers. All members of the interracial group have Peace Corps and classroom experience and have worked together in developing and testing African Studies curricula for grades K-12. The leader of this group noted, in introducing the first workshop to the thirty Dade County teachers in attendance, that some clearly drawn parallels emerge between the situations in Africa and desegregation in the U.S., but that the main purpose of the workshop was to aid the teachers in understanding more about other cultures. As she sees it, the primary purpose of the workshop is to prepare teachers to reach and teach black kids in the classroom, while the secondary purpose is that of preparing the teachers to act as teacher trainees. Two human relations team members (one black and one Spanish) are working with the team in organizing and coordinating this workshop.

Another example of the kind of activity the team members get involved

in occurred in several secondary schools where the students felt that their student council, elected by homeroom with "Mr. Popularity" winning in almost all classes, did not represent the broad spectrum of student opinion, particularly the minority groups. With the help of the Human Relations team a "turf" geographic plan of representation was drawn up and utilized; this plan appears to have succeeded in providing an adequate voice for various student factions. The local educational TV station contacted the human relations team on another activity - they needed help in planning a program on the proposed "quinmester" term system. The team asked the Classroom Teachers Association (the teachers union) as well as other sources, for questions about this proposed system and then set up the format for the program. Still another activity involved compiling materials for a human relations handbook; the materials included, among other things, a description of tandem counseling, of behavior modification, of the abovementioned "turf" representation as well as suggestions for implementing a program utilizing multiethnic simulation games.

Glancing through the monthly progress reports drawn up by the team one realizes that, although the team members are actively involved in their work for more hours than are required, they do make an effort to keep abreast of information and workshops in the human relations field and to attend training sessions when feasible. In addition to the monthly sessions with Max Birnbaum, each month at least two staff members participate in one formal activity that prepares them to better serve as human relations specialists. In addition, last year's staff attended a two-week summer training lab in Massachusetts and this year's staff plans to do the same. This training lab is associated with Boston University in a program that Max Birnbaum has been instrumental in setting up.

The team appears to have met with a fair amount of success in its efforts to expand its programs to include students and to initiate their activities in ways that would encourage formation of school-based human relations programs. Increasingly schools are instituting human relations committees or more active cadres, with the membership varying from students alone, to students, faculty, administration and parents.

One procedure that the team hopes will be altered next year is the method of requesting the services of the human relations team. As it stands presently, a principal must request assistance or approve the request before a human relations specialist can begin to assist the staff and/or students in that school. Human relations as an educational service is, as was mentioned previously, viewed favorably by many of the Dade County school personnel but there are principals who consider a request for human relations support an admission of failure. There have been cases where such principals have had to request such support after the situation in their schools got out of hand, but, of course, it is more difficult for the human relations specialist to develop a program within a context of overt hostility. With the guidance of Max Birnbaum, the team is developing a plan for a "crisis-intervention team" which would be utilized to forestall outbreaks in schools. This plan could not be utilized under the present system, but, if the team is given wider latitude to initiate programs next year, could be tested for effectiveness.

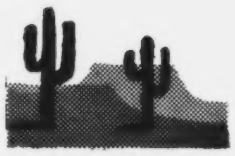
This countywide human relations team has been funded completely by

federal funds under Title IV since its inception in February, 1970. The wealth of staff development, media development and human relations activities which preceded this program were funded entirely with county funds, a sum estimated at approximately $1.6 million. This does not include the indirect costs of desegregation such as transportation and extra security costs. A tiny percentage of the over $2 million allotted Dade County in Emergency School Aid has been used to assist in employing human relations personnel at the district level. Title I funds have been utilized only for the target disadvantaged populations in compensatory education programs. Few state funds have been made available for educational programs. Obviously, if the county had not committed these funds to indirect and direct activities related to desegregation over the past six years, the Title IV funded program could not have so rapidly become an integral, effective part of the desegregation effort.

It is difficult to evaluate something as diffuse and multifaceted as a human relations program, particularly one that operates in as large and diverse an area as the Dade County school system. Nevertheless, the increasing rate with which the services of the team members are being requested, the feedback received from some schools regarding increased and better communication, and the formation and continuation of school-based and district-based human relations programs - these three factors do indicate that the human relations support team is accomplishing slowly - because that is the only way human relations support can be applied for lasting effect - what it was established to accomplish.

Among the many factors to which the program's effectiveness would be attributed the abovementioned "favorable climate" for human relations training is crucial. [The staff in the Dade County school system appears to be more open to ideas and more flexible than is sometimes the case in large bureaucratic school systems. Whether this is cause, effect, or unrelated to past human relations programs, is, of course, impossible to say, but it does provide a more receptive atmosphere for the teams efforts.] The personal qualities of the team, as individuals and as a team, are also a major positive influence - their backgrounds in the school, their enthusiasm without impatience or pedantry, and their realistic and honest efforts to encourage teachers and others to become aware of and deal with their own problems have been a major factor in preventing the development of hostility or dependency relationships. Sensitivity training, in the sense of probing into the psychological reasons for a particular individual's behavior, has been wisely avoided as this is the kind of session that can scare many teachers, causing suspicions about and hostility toward the program. The team has, for the most part, been quick to assist when a situation warrants immediate action; one principal stated that the best thing about the team was that "they were there when we needed them." This particular program is not seen as the panacea for desegregation, and the staff's goals are, consequently, realistic, and, in many cases, attainable. Although team members can become understandably discouraged when they see few tangible changes countywide as a result of their efforts, their work with school-by-school practical goals makes it far more likely that the human relations support team will remain a major input as Dade County's desegregation process continues.

BERNALILLO, NEW MEXICO



The constantly-changing beauty of the mountains and mesas which provide the geographical setting for the Bernalillo municipal school district limits the visitor's initial ability to comprehend the socioeconomic and educational problems of the area. Indeed it is hard to believe that poverty exists in such surroundings. The town of Bernalillo is located about 18 miles north of Albuquerque, while Cochiti Pueblo, the northernmost community in the district, is 35 miles north of Bernalillo. In addition to these communities, the district contains four other Indian pueblos and four small towns. While Bernalillo has a population of about 4,000, the next largest of these towns contains only 500 people. Santo Domingo pueblo, with a population of 3,000 has more than three times as many inhabitants as the next largest pueblo.

Of the 2,600 students in the district, 50% are Indian, 40% are of Spanish extraction and 10% are Anglo. The Indians are Pueblo Indians speaking the Keresan language, although the 150 Indians on the small Sandia Pueblo speak Tewa. These pueblo areas were "colonized" by the Spanish years ago with the result being, in many cases, a fascinating mixture of cultural influences. Indians all have Spanish names, both first and last. The Catholic church is a prominent building in each pueblo and, while nearly all pueblo residents attend mass, the native religion, which has served them well in their efforts to maintain a cultural unity, has not been abandoned. After the Christmas Eve mass, the pueblo is alive the entire night with the drums and dances of the traditional religion.

While some of the non-Indians with Spanish surnames in the area consider themselves Mexican-Americans, a great many are descended from early Spanish or Mexican settlers and can trace their New Mexican family tree further back than could many an Anglo. This does not mean that they have chosen the route of melting into the proverbial American pot; Spanish is still spoken frequently and food is a mixture of Spanish and Mexican. This group in this area appears to be living proof that cultural pluralism is not only possible, but desirable. Since the percentage of Anglos is so small and since most of them are not long-time residents of the area, it is impossible to characterize them. Except for some of the teachers and their families, the Anglos appear to be less bound up intrinsically in the life of this area as a community.

The certified educational staff of the district is 36.35% Anglo, 61.69% Spanish and 1.95% Indian. Three of the approximately 165 staff members are Indians, all male. There has been no staff segregation per se in the district since the staff has been dispersed to the two K-8 schools, the three K-6 schools, the junior high and the high school on the basis of experience, preference and proximity. Cochiti and Santo Domingo schools, both K-8, provide residences for teachers near the school. This has been a determining factor, both pro and con, in the decision of many teachers when choosing a school. All three Indian teachers teach at either Santo

Domingo (student population 98% Indian) or Cochiti (student population 55% Indian).

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) formerly maintained schools for Indians on government-owned reservations, which included these pueblos. The BIA school in Cochiti became public about four years ago, while the Catholic parochial school in nearby Peyña Blanca, a predominantly Spanish community, became public in the early '50's. Changes such as these have begun to integrate the lives of the ethnic groups in these areas to a greater degree than previously. Santo Domingo school (K-8) which is 98% Indian, and Algodones school (K-6) which is 95% Spanish could be called segregated, but when one considers the distances between communities and the fact that all these children will attend the same junior high school, it is obvious that this "separation" is a pragmatic reality which the system, with limited funds, had to accept. Segregation, if it exists, is segregation in the abstract imposed by individual lack of awareness and understanding.

The community is far from wealthy, and lacks a strong local economy. Forty-three percent of the families have an income of less than $3,000. Sandoval County, in which this district is located, was designated a "pilot" poverty county and given top priority by the federal government for the input of agencies and resources concerned with occupational education problems and with health, welfare and related socioeconomic problems. The Indians work in agriculture and in crafts, and, more recently, those from Cochiti pueblo have attained construction jobs on a nearby project. Many members of the Spanish and Anglo communities work in Albuquerque to the south or Santa Fe to the north. Placitas in the southern part of the district is the home of several wealthy Anglos and Spanish who prefer living in this beautiful foothill town to the "city life" of Albuquerque.

Although the area encompassed by the school district is a stable one as far as continuity of the population is concerned, the diversity and combinations of cultures of its inhabitants results in a socio-cultural-economic complexity. The problems inherent in such a complexity are only increased by the fact that while 60% of the students are Indian, only 1.95% of the teachers are. As the Spanish in this area have not adapted the value system of the white middle class, even less is it conceivable that the Indians would aspire to this value system as a totality. The Indian's inability to understand the middle-class school system was no less acute than the Anglo and the Spanish teachers' lack of awareness of the implications of the Indian culture. The three cultural groups in the Bernalillo district have lived together peacefully without major frictions for years, but this superficial peace rarely scraped the surface of true acceptance based on understanding.

The residents themselves, including the educational staff, seemed to be aware of the superficiality of this cross-cultural tolerance. In a several-year survey of the staff conducted by the Bernalillo Public Schools, 85% of the teachers indicated that insufficient knowledge, understanding, and know-how of communication among the members of the three cultures seemed to be a major lapse in the effort to meet the needs of students. Many staff members had worked quite hard in recent years in solving such problems as school dropouts, underachievement, discipline and lack of community involvement. Efforts had also been made to devise a curriculum suitable to Bern-

alillo's unique school population. Although many of these efforts reaped rewards for individual teachers or students, they were not responding to the abovementioned lack of knowledge and understanding.

As an initial effort to meet these needs, an in-service program to increase cultural awareness for teachers was held by the Bernalillo schools in 1968. Subsequently, a course in cultural sociology under the auspices of the University of New Mexico was held in Bernalillo. This course provided basic factual knowledge about the three cultures. Teacher response to these efforts was very favorable, with many noticing that their increased awareness brought results in the classroom.

This success, coupled with the staff's sensitivity to the uniqueness of the Bernalillo school district's problems, were the seeds providing the impetus for the original Title IV proposal for a "Tri-Cultural Sensitivity In-Service Training Program" for the year 1969-70. This proposal notes that "the values, behavioral patterns, and cultural orientations of the Indian and Spanish population must be included not only in the curriculum per se, but also as part of the training of each staff member...for it is the total staff that will, in the final analysis, achieve the integration patterns that our school must have if we are to achieve the ultimate aims of *equal* educational opportunity for *all*."

The basic idea for this first year was to involve not only the teachers and administrative staff, but also the community at large in developing greater cultural awareness and sensitivity, in developing a variety of bilingual materials, and in developing a curriculum more suited to the area, taking into account its cultural influences. Workshops and in-service sessions for teachers, administrators and school board members were the main technique utilized. Outside consultants were carefully selected and evaluated on the basis of what they could offer the groups in terms of increased cultural awareness in practical as opposed to academic terms.

The first 10-day workshop, held in August, 1969, was composed of ten "cadre" teachers, chosen, with at least one from each school, on the basis of teaching ability and demonstrated sensitivity to cultural variables. Specialists were brought in for two days to discuss the socio-cultural background of the American Indian (an Indian specialist), of the Spanish-American (of Spanish extraction) and of the Anglo. Another specialist, an Indian, spent half a day discussing Indian ceremonial life in a manner that helped the ten participants to realize how religion affected daily and family life. Ten hours were devoted to a "cultural awareness training session" which, with the favorable response of cadre members, was conducted generally as a sensitivity training session. A panel of Indian leaders discussed the problems of the Indian community as it related to education (one-half day); two specialists, one Anglo, one Spanish, dealt with "Prescription for Failure in the Classroom" (one-half day); and "The Culture of Poverty" (one day); and a professor from the University discussed the value systems of the three cultures (one-half day). Field trips and home visits to pueblos were also scheduled.

These ten teachers then helped to conduct subsequent workshops and in-service sessions. As competent teachers who now had first-hand experiences in understanding what kinds of atmospheres are most conducive to communica-

tion cross-culturally, these ten individuals did, in fact, prove to be a vital part of the program. In planning the workshops, they always brought their own classroom point of view supplemented by that of teachers and students in their schools. The experience they gained in conducting these workshops also aided them in feeling more competent as resource people in their schools. Of the ten teachers three are male, and one of these is Indian. Three of the women are Anglo, while two males and four females are Spanish.

Chronologically the next formal activity under the auspices of this program was a two-week workshop for the 28 teachers new to the system that year. The cadre attended these sessions and took turns taking charge of the day's program, thus increasing their visibility to these teachers as "people to turn to." Based on their experiences in their two-week workshop and on the different base from which new teachers would be operating, several changes were made in the workshop. The cultural awareness T-session was held the first two days of the workshop and the skill of the trainers and the subsequent atmosphere established assisted the teachers to relax, discuss their fears and problems while engendering the desire to understand themselves and those they would be working with and for. While many of the same consultants were used, some of the topics were altered, and in some cases combined. A session on "The Interactional Mechanisms of Defense" and "Games Teachers Play" was added as was another session conducted by community residents on "Making the Teacher Culturally Aware" and "Community Involvement." On one day a comprehensive tour of the pueblos was conducted with lunch in the home of an Indian family while another day was devoted to a tour of the other towns in the district. This was quite valuable as the schools are so far apart that a new teacher could easily fail to realize the diversity of the community as a whole. A "live-in" was arranged for those teachers who wanted to stay overnight with a Spanish or Indian family on the pueblo. In keeping with the effort to aid the teachers in exploring their own reactions as a first step in exploring other cultures, the last half day was devoted to a discussion of the implications of the workshop.

A briefer workshop was held for the administrative council in early September, after the school term began. The first one and one-half days were devoted to a T-session with the consultant who had been so successful in the earlier workshop. Of the twelve people attending these workshops, those contacted felt they had profited greatly from the workshop in that it helped them to see how they had been dealing with others in the system and, in many cases, also to see some of the causes behind the behaviors and reactions of these others and themselves. A principal mentioned that "the petty administrative in-fighting has decreased and we're more sincere now." Another administrator noted that he had never been able to explain his problems to the superintendent without being "out-talked" and that, after confronting him in the T-session, he thinks their discussions more two-sided and profitable for both. The remaining four sessions of this workshop were two-hour afternoon sessions, offering some of the sociopsychological topics of the earlier workshops with the last session a discussion of present trends and future prospects.

Workshops of various kinds continued throughout the year. The cadre met one-half day a month and two different cadre members were in charge of each of the four-day workshops held for the teachers who had not yet at-

tended an extended workshop. At many of the cadre sessions, Dr. Ulibarri, a consultant to whom workshop participants had responded very favorably, spoke on facilitating implementation of classroom programs, coordinating subject matter and cultural sensitivity. The first discussion centered around reaching an understanding of the student as they would like him to be at the termination of the educational process. The cadre members discussed hypothetical societal alternatives, agreeing, as might be expected from people of this area, that cultural pluralism is the desired goal. Role-playing in the classroom was used to try to understand aspects such as what success means to the different ethnic groups. Subsequent sessions often were planned on a similar probing sociopsychological level while others dealt with the content and method of curriculum revision.

These workshops were supplemented by two in-service days held on school vacations during the year. At the first such session in mid-September, the cadre formed a panel and discussed their experiences in the workshop and in helping to plan the year's program, stressing how cultural awareness can help in teaching. Although some of the topics at these in-service sessions did not theoretically fall under the rubric of cultural awareness, the consultants chosen were selected partly for their sensitivity to the cultural factor. The secondary and elementary teachers divided into two groups for part of the second such session in order to discuss curriculum innovations pragmatically and realistically.

The program was, then, moving steadily toward its goal of curriculum revision by stimulating thinking and beginning action on this very subject. Given the conservative nature of several of the Indian pueblos and some of the more experienced teachers and administrators, one wonders how all this could take place with little or no active opposition. The role played by each cadre member in communicating with staff in his school is one answer to this. Those cadre members contacted were very supportive of the program, always ready to listen to a teacher's problems and to do what they could to help. In essence, then, the cadre secured teacher approval for the program. The administrative council, of which the Title IV Director was a member, also approved each workshop. School board members were very helpful with at least one board member attending most workshops. In a sparsely populated community like Bernalillo, these school board members are highly respected and their backing of the program was important. The communication lines between the educational councils of the pueblos and the Title IV office were kept open and frequently used. The Indians hired as cadre members were often helpful in keeping the pueblos informed while the director and cadre members attended or conducted as many community meetings as was feasible. Since PTA's were never successful in this district and since delineated groups were few, the enthusiasm of the staff was a necessary input in maintaining communications with the community.

In an effort to actively involve students in the first year of this program, a 2-1/2 day workshop was held for student council members in March. Approximately six hours of T-sessions were scheduled as well as talks on the sociocultural aspects of the three ethnic groups. While the students appeared to value the T-session for its contribution to their personal growth, the other speakers tended to be a bit too academic. The director is acutely aware of this and, while he believes that the workshop was worthwhile, would use mainly local people as consultants if he were to conduct another such workshop.

While conducting the two systemwide one-day workshops the staff had noticed that those teachers who had already attended a longer workshop seemed to be more attuned to the philosophy behind these sessions and, consequently, were profiting more from them. Many favorable comments were received after each workshop as well as some suggestions for changes, but this did not begin to constitute an objective evaluation. Whether or not a program of this sort is, indeed, accomplishing its goals is very difficult to ascertain since the indirect ramifications may often serve more to effectuate these goals than the immediately observable. Taking these limitations into account, an evaluation of the ethnic attitudes of the staff was conducted with a pre- and post-test model using the Adorno F-Scale as the evaluating instrument and the Spanish-American and Rio Grande Pueblo Practices Survey and a modified Osgood Semantic Differential Scale as control instruments. On the five clusters of the F-Scale used to measure attitude change-conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, superstition and stereotype, and power and toughness - the gains in disagreement ranged from 12% to 23%. While these uni-directional trends on all five clusters do indicate that teacher attitudes were increasing in flexibility and awareness, the figures show that a great deal of rigidity and stereotyping remained. The other scales, while reinforcing the basic findings of the F-Scale, indicated that many teachers remained unaware of some very basic cultural differences.

In April the director and cadre met to discuss the proposal for 1970-71. In addition to stressing the planning and implementation of curriculum based on cultural awareness piloted in the language arts and social studies, this proposal envisioned a workshop for non-certified personnel and sought increased parent involvement. Cadre members participated in a three-week summer workshop. During this week they prepared actual sample teaching units to furnish ideas for the staff. A booklet, "Sample Teaching Units Through Cultural Awareness," contained social studies units for grades 1-6, an introduction to poetry, a biology unit, several math units and a unit on early American literature and folklore. Naturally it is in the social studies and English curricula where cultural awareness can be most easily implemented, but story problems in math and the nomenclature for plants and animals are examples of areas in more "objective" subjects where cultural factors can be introduced.

Summer 1970 saw a frenzy of workshop activity take place. The Administrative Council and members of the Steering Committee for Curriculum Revision (teachers, parents, administrators, students, school board members) attended a two-week workshop entitled "Change Through Cultural Awareness--Supervision and Curriculum Renewal, A Systems Approach." The Title IV director and other administrators attended a University of New Mexico two-week cultural awareness workshop. Nineteen Bernalillo teachers, including most of the cadre teachers, attended a two-week institute in Colorado on Indian culture. Gains from this kind of institute appear to be greater the more attuned the individual teacher is to the concept of improving education through cultural awareness, and the cadre members benefited greatly from such experiences.

A two-week workshop for new teachers was again conducted, with essentially the same format as that of the previous year. The T-group sessions were apparently not as successful with this group as they had been previously as the teachers contacted felt it was somewhat time-wasting. The "live-in" in Cochiti pueblo was commented on in glowing terms by the eight teachers

who chose to participate while the tour of the area was an eye-opening venture for all.

Three in-service one-day sessions for all teachers are being conducted this year, the basic philosophy behind their content being that of providing continuity of cultural awareness and implementation of this awareness into the curriculum. One of these days the elementary, junior high school and high school teachers meet separately while on another day the discussion is an intensive one on language arts and social studies curricula.

The non-certified personnel play a unique role in this community, particularly among the Indian community. All Indian children take the bus to school and eat lunch in the school cafeteria so they see a great deal of the bus driver and cafeteria workers in informal settings. The custodian at Cochiti school, an Indian, commented that the program and his particular workshop "tried to get the three groups talking which they hadn't done before." The majority of the 95 secretaries, bus drivers, maintenance workers, cafeteria workers and substitute teachers in addition to the community leaders who attended, were Indian. A vocational instructor spoke of the role and importance of the non-certified personnel, sociocultural sessions similar to those in earlier workshops were held, a panel of students talked with the group and the groups met separately to discuss their various roles. Since many of the Indian personnel are influential in the pueblo and by dint of sheer numbers, this workshop helped to stimulate a "multiplier effect" among the Indians.

The abovementioned Advisory Committee of Curriculum Revision Through Cultural Awareness meets at least once a month. Their role is to examine and approve curricula before it is sent to the superintendent. The broad representation from all ethnic groups and all segments of the community makes this group a very crucial one in maintaining community and teacher support. This committee has dealt this year only in the language arts and social studies curriculum provided them by committees in each area. These area committees consist of about eight to ten teachers representing all the schools. These committees have had some success, through the community liaisons and through personal contacts, in involving parents and students in their planning. Since a language arts curriculum in grades K-3 will be implemented next year; this committee is now very active. One of the most successful cadre members, not a language arts teacher herself, serves as an advisor to this committee.

Curriculum committees in other areas have been formed and are beginning to meet. Fortunately, the program director, while encouraging this revision, does not try to have cultural awareness brought into the formal curricula everywhere, but only where it lends itself to the unit. Many in Bernalillo agree that, while the individual teacher's awareness can be a constant influence no matter what the subject, there is no value in stretching the curriculum to the point where cultural relevance is irrelevant.

As an illustration of how much one teacher's awareness can do, a junior high science teacher and cadre member brings in pueblo guests to demonstrate dyeing corn and the ceremonial uses of corn; she provides, with student assistance, Indian and Spanish names for plants, and she leaves Friday open as "rap session," occasionally utilizing T-group exercises in these

sessions. As an advisor to the language arts committee and a member of the science committee and the drug education committee, she has been successful in involving parents in these groups in meaningful ways. One of her most significant comments, and one that illustrates how difficult it is to evaluate cultural awareness in a direct cause-and-effect sense, was that she no longer says about a given scientific principle or theory that "that's it, learn it." Rather, she has realized and wants her students to understand, that knowledge is relevant to a certain point in time and, in part, is relative culturally.

The goals of the language arts committee, headed by the Reading Coordinator whose program is funded by Title I, is to develop a sequential skills program for grades K-12. Now that all the Indian pueblos have Head Start as do most of the other communities, the children entering kindergarten have few language problems. The committee, with advisory participation from 20 parents on a rotating basis, has chosen to focus on listening, speaking, reading and writing in that order. Once the materials are developed, each teacher will pick what is appropriate for his class influenced partly by the cultural makeup of his class. One brief example of the ways in which cultural awareness is being implemented is a reading lesson with accompanying pictures on the order of "I am an Indian. I live in the pueblo. I am an American. I am an Anglo. I live in Bernalillo. I am an American." The fairly obvious philosophy behind this is that of first pointing out uniqueness, then similarities, then how these two synthesize.

Since the two-year program has succeeded in actively involving many segments of the community in the effort to implement cultural awareness into the Bernalillo schools, plans for next year are a continuation, with no major innovations. A new teacher workshop will be conducted, one-day in-service sessions will be held, but the primary thrust will be in piloting the language arts curriculum in grades K-3 and in developing curricula in other areas. Parent involvement will again be stressed and the recent successful meeting of parents at Cochiti school is now available as a model to begin to develop active involvement.

During the first phase of the program, 1969-70, Title IV contributed $49,800 and $8,000 was secured from other funds to furnish the program with the $57,800 needed. Compensation to participants, consultants and substitutes, and salaries took up the bulk of these funds. Total costs for the second year program are $56,825 with $41,025 furnished through Title IV and $4,500 furnished from Johnson-O'Malley funds for Indians. $1,200 was contributed by a foundation which focuses much of its philanthropic efforts on Indians and their education, the Save the Children Federation. The remainder of these funds came from the local school funds.

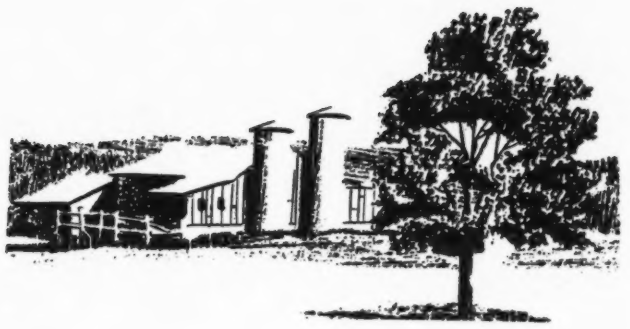
The financial support provided by the local system is indicative of the support furnished this program on other levels. Though it is obviously a separate program with its own director, it has become so integrated into the administrative structure and the classrooms throughout the system that it is frequently impossible to say which results stem directly from the efforts of this program. The original proposal was written by a man who has spent his life in this community and was partly a response to a written survey of educational staff and community people. All of these "home grown" factors have contributed greatly to the program's progress in achieving its

goals while integrating itself into the school system.

Planning for most of the workshops was fairly structured, but some flexibility remained. Encouraging teachers to initiate subsequent contacts with cadre members and the director provided the opportunity for teachers to participate at varying levels of involvement and time commitment. It was, seemingly, partly this flexibility within the planned structures, coupled with the atmosphere of personal respect and openness which accounts for the success of the T-group technique. Whereas teachers have often resented efforts to being "sensitized" in this manner, response among the Bernalillo staff was, for the most part, very positive. This is particularly true of the administrators who have been of pivotal importance in stimulating a positive attitude toward the workshops and toward changing the system to meet the needs of the students.

The personalities of many of the key people here must be included in an assessment of the reasons this program is meeting its objectives. Arnold Rael, the director, is not only a native of Cochiti and an experienced teacher in the district, he is an unusual combination of gregariousness and sensitivity and he believes wholeheartedly in what he is doing while not going to the extreme of viewing his program as a panacea for all the district's educational ills. In trying not only to interest the teachers and others in cultural awareness, but to help them grow as individuals through personal involvement, he continues to gain support. Although not all cadre members were contacted, those who were appeared not only excited about the role of the cadre as a team but enthusiastic about their role as "disseminators" and "feedback-receivers" in their schools. The teachers and the principals do come to them with problems and their efforts on local school or curriculum committees are often geared to aiding teachers to explore and question their own approach.

While there has never been much overt hostility between the youngsters of different ethnic groups in Bernalillo, there has been the usual name-calling at the elementary level and a tendency on the part of older children to sit together in ethnic groups in class and to think the others are "talking about them." No matter how infrequent such occurrences, they do tend to increase segregation in the schools. Two cadre members, one an elementary school teacher and one a junior high school teacher, mentioned that they now encourage kids to discuss these situations and examine the causes whereas previously they were too bound up with "teaching as a thing" to consider the ultimate value of this kind of discussion. Although the students have, in general, benefited only indirectly from the program, as these examples illustrate and as the program intends, their gains are what counts and it appears that a well-grounded cultural pluralism may eventually become an integral part of the Bernalillo schools.



FORREST CITY, ARKANSAS

The town of Forrest City rises rather abruptly out of the flat, bare black land of eastern Arkansas. Located on a major east-west highway, U.S. Highway #70, it is about forty miles west of Memphis and the Mississippi River. The fertile black soil of the area is ideal for growing both cotton and rice, and agriculture has long been the dominant activity. The roads are lined with rows of small, unpainted wooden shacks, identical in every respect except that each leans at its own crazy angle, as if in some feeble reach for individuality. A closer look reveals that only about one in four of these shanties is occupied. Change has come to Forrest City, and it has brought both advantage and disruption.

The increase in more efficient, technological farming methods has meant that many sharecroppers, occupants of the roadside shanties, have been driven from their traditional means of livelihood. The agricultural wealth of the area has been consolidated into a few hands, and many families have been turned away from the land. Some of this labor has been absorbed by a few industries which have established themselves in Forrest City. Many of the former sharecroppers and small farm operators, however, have given up and moved to other areas. In some instances they have left children behind to stay with grandparents or other relatives. These and other farm children make up about half of the school population of Forrest City.

Enrollment in the Forrest City schools is approximately 6,400 students. Of these, about 54% are black, about 46% white. The system remained racially segregated until 1965, when Forrest City adopted a freedom-of-choice plan. The result was that by the school year 1969-70, there were some 500 black students in previously all-white schools, and a few faculty transfers were made. Meanwhile, a certain amount of pressure from the black community continued, and the system was ordered to desegregate all grades beginning in the fall of 1970.

Under the plan which went into effect at that time, the formerly all white junior high and high schools, two buildings less than a block from each other, were converted to house ninth and tenth grades in one, and eleventh and twelfth grades in the other. A similar junior-senior high school complex which had previously been all black was converted into a junior high school. The elementary schools, some in the town and some in outlying rural areas, were desegregated along neighborhood lines, resulting in varying racial composition from nearly all black to nearly all white.

The impending desegregation generated a visible degree of community resistance. A few children were lost to the local private or parochial school. In preparation for the change, a decision was made in the spring of 1970 to ask for the services of the Arkansas Technical Assistance and

Consultative Center at Ouachita Baptist University in Arkadelphia. The ATAC Center, supported under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, specializes in assisting local school systems with the problems of desegregation, both human and technical. In April, the director of the ATAC Center addressed several local civic clubs in Forrest City on the problems and advantages of desegregation. A well-known and respected figure in public education in Arkansas, the director was able to influence community thinking somewhat regarding the changes to come. Evening sessions were also conducted for teachers, one for elementary and one for secondary groups. Attendance at the meetings averaged around 50. Center staff and consultants addressed the meetings, emphasizing the role of the faculty in smoothing the way for difficult change, and focusing on misinformation and lack of knowledge as primary sources of prejudice. Smaller groups were formed by grade levels for discussion, with black and white teachers meeting each other in most cases for the first time.

In addition to these one-evening meetings for teachers, a series of workshops was held during the fall for administrators, supervisors, and counselors of Forrest City and several surrounding districts. Attendance at the evening meetings was optional, and averaged around fifty principals, teachers, and other supervisory personnel. Some of the general topics introduced for discussion included alternatives to organizational philosophies and leadership styles, problems of prejudice and misunderstanding, effective methods for introducing change, team skills, and specific problems identified by participants. The four-hour sessions included a short general meeting and longer meetings of small groups for discussion and solution of specific problem cases provided by the Center staff. Hypothetical problem cases were drawn up out of previous discussions with participants, and each group was given an opportunity to present its findings and solutions to the general meeting. A group might be asked to consider, for example, the problem of a black assistant principal who meets with resistance when he attempts to reorganize procedures and filing systems in his new school; or the dilemma of a white principal who wishes to organize a black history course in his high school and finds that his intentions are threatening to the white chairman of the history department, who does not feel qualified to deal with the subject.

Although only four such sessions, in addition to the two teachers' meetings, have been held, the general feeling among faculty and staff in the Forrest City schools is that they have played at least a small part in facilitating the process of desegregation. The school superintendent feels that the "most orderly transition" was beyond almost everyone's expectation; past experience with racial tensions in Forrest City had led many to expect some degree of trouble. The tendency among the staff is to give credit for success to the workshops.

No one is claiming overwhelming success for the transition, which is still in its very early stages. There has been at least one incident of black high school students demonstrating and organizing a boycott to express their grievances, and the range of possible sources of discontent is great. Some black students, for example, resented the fact that the high school colors automatically chosen were those of the former white high school. Black students and the white high school principal failed to reach a satis-

factory level of communication when the students asked to be allowed to sponsor a black history week at the school and the principal responded that he could only allow special events that included all students, and so proposed an Americanism week instead, featuring patriotic displays and assemblies which could include a skit concerning black history. There seem to be several complaints of trouble among black and white students on the buses. There seems to be very little social integration, and black and white teachers seldom if ever are seen sitting together in the lunchrooms; the situation among the students is much the same. One black teacher reported that both black teachers and black students feel a tangible polarization, a lack of ways of sitting down with whites and talking out problems. White teachers express uncertainty and surprise at black students' resentment of certain language habits; they feel forced unnecessarily to watch their pronunciation of "Negro", or are uncertain just which term to use in referring to the other race; one teacher explained that he had been accustomed to addressing students whom he disciplined as "Boy!" but soon learned that "Young man" might be a more acceptable choice for black students. More than one white staff member referred to these kinds of language problems as "asinine," and expressed resentment at having to be careful in use of words.

There are, however, many encouraging signs of progress. As one administrator reported, the workshops may not have succeeded in making desegregation *acceptable* to the Forrest City community, but at least it was *tolerable*. Several teachers remarked that the meetings gave them a chance to participate in groups where they interacted socially with members of the other race for the first time in their lives. Clearly, with this gap in experience, understanding cannot be reached after one evening, and any progress is commendable. Several teachers and supervisors mentioned that they thought future workshops might concentrate on more subtle problems, and that the approach of the initial workshops was more elementary than it might have been. Almost all school staff interviewed seemed willing or eager to participate in future programs if they were offered. There is hope that the ATAC Center and the Forrest City district, along with several neighboring districts, may be able to arrange a two-week workshop for teachers during the summer. Within this arrangement, more interracial social contact would result, and teachers would have a better opportunity for intense discussion of specific problems. The year of transition would give them a perspective through which to examine the future.

The TWENTY FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE of THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WORKERS, in Seattle, Washington, 4th through 8th October, 1971, will be highlighted by many programs of primary interest to educators. Of particular interest will be a series of EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY WORKSHOPS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WORKERS IN EDUCATION, jointly sponsored by the *U.S. Office of Education*, *The Puerto Rican Forum*, and *Teachers College, Columbia University*. Among those scheduled to speak or lead training sessions are: *Suzanne Price*, Chief, Analysis, Resources, and Materials Staff of Division of Equal Educational Opportunity, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *Dr. Edmund Gordon*, Chairman, Guidance Department, Teachers College, Columbia University, *Angel Ortiz*, Director, Institute for School and Community Interaction, Puerto Rican Forum, *Ron Edmonds*, State of Michigan Department of Education, *Juanita Griffin*, Atlantic City, N.J., *Luis Vieves*, Executive Director, Aspira Inc., *Donald Hadfield*, State of Minnesota Department of Education. Registration to EEO workshops will be limited. Fee $5.00 EEO workshop coordinator c/o NCRIEEO.

JUN 10 1971